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ABSTRACT

The Upward Bound Project for low income youth in Florida emphasizes humanistic education rather than education based on the capitalistic model of production, consumption, and competition. The project, which can serve as a model for education in developing countries, focuses on creating self-concepts and values to counteract those of an acquisitive society. In a free enterprise society, the economic system dictates social relations among people and the educational process. The Upward Bound project, however, focuses on the social change goals of a person's being a subject rather than an object, valuing responsibility over authority, learning through creativity, being autonomous rather than conformist, and valuing cooperation over competition and community over excessive individualism. Participants' work is not graded, authority is decentralized, financial resources are pooled, and participants tutor each other. When developing countries are influenced to restructure their systems to favor free enterprise, they become dependent on the "having" mode of existence. The Upward Bound Project would foster peace over greed. (KC)

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EDUCATION AS LITERACY FOR FREEDOM: IMPLICATIONS FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN FROM AN UPWARD BOUND PROJECT.

by

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1. INTRODUCTION

Third world countries, especially those which were under colonial rule are struggling to eradicate or restructure educational systems (UNESCO, 1978), which previously were intended to produce what Albert Memmi has called the "colonized mind." (Memmi, 1965).

This "colonized mind" is not indigenous to third world operations. In fact, some scholars have argued that schooling in capitalist America facilitates what Paulo Freire describes as a form of pedagogy of the oppressed. (Freire, 1970; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Spring, 1980; Carnoy, 1975).

Education in this context is not intended to produce literacy for freedom (Bowers, 1974; Greene, 1982), in the masses, i.e., education for critical consciousness, but instead acts as a sorting machine (Spring, 1976).

Efforts to enhance pedagogy for human dignity, whether they be within or outside of the United States, should obviously be quite germane to third world thrusts to tailor educational systems that foster humanistic ends.

2. PURPOSE

The purpose of this paper is to:

A. Argue that the "mode of having" described by Erich

Fromm (Fromm, 1976), precipitates within the U.S. schooling system a form of functional literacy conducive to consumption, production, and profit.

B. Examine a project in the USA which seeks to create new values for its participants through educational endeavors.

C. Explore the implications of this project's thrusts for humanistic ends for third world education systems especially those in Latin American and Caribbean areas.

3. DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM

Erich Fromm posits the notion that "twentieth-century capitalism is based on maximal consumption of the goods and services produced as well as on routinized teamwork." (Fromm, 1976: 5). He argues that the overemphasis on maximal growth and consumption engenders a paradigm in which I am equals what I have or what I consume. He contends that a socially constructed consciousness paradigm in which everyone is induced to have more, precipitates the formations of classes, class wars, and in global terms, international war. (Fromm, 1976: 6).

If it can be shown that this "having mode" is connected with the social relations of the economic system, and if it can also be shown that there is a correspondence between the economic work structure, and the schooling enterprise, then it can be argued that the schooling enterprise in the USA perpetuates a "having mode" or in other words a form of functional literacy conducive to consumption, production, and profit.

If it can further be shown that the Upward Bound Project fac-

ilitates a "being mode of existence;" [1] and, if on the other hand it can be shown that conflict in Latin America and the Caribbean is the result of a "having mode" perpetrated by a capitalistic model, then projects which foster humanistic educational ends should be of more importance to Latin American and Caribbean nations than those which would continue the "having mode" and as Fromm points out would foster greed over peace. (Fromm, 1976).

4. HAVING MODE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS OF ECONOMIC REALITIES.

Economic reality in the United States, by and large, is dictated by a dominant paradigm which fosters production, consumption, and profit; or in other words buying and selling.

This buying and selling, according to this economic model, should be ensconced in a metaphysical concept of a "free market." That is, who buys and sells; what he/she pays for his/her goods and services; should be the sole result of a natural law of supply and demand.

This natural law is based on a philosophical notion that reality and truth can be gleaned from laws of nature. Thus, systematic study of nature, according to this notion, will yield a priori knowledge. Truth is then produced from scientific endeavor; truth applicable not only to nature, but also to human nature, and the human enterprise.[2]

What may have precipitated the adoption of this paradigm is not the immediate concern here. The more salient concern is the underlying assumptions, and actions which may follow from adherence

to this paradigm.

To have, becomes synonomous with to be, i.e., to exist. Economic reality dictates that my existence is predicated upon my having something; whether it be capital, land, resources, or skills. To extricate myself from this "free market" operation is to deny myself recognition by others, (the significant other), praise, status, a recognized role, and all the other societal trappings which determine my worth as a human being.

Since my having is not innate, or congenital, then the paradigm induces a competitive, aggressive need, which is supposed to match the "tooth and claw" reality of nature.

To be someone here is to have ot own something (object or person). But, since human nature, according to this model, is predisposed to self-interest, self-survival, and greed, (all "free market variables), then protecting what I have, and at the same time distrusting others, less they take what I have, and become more than I am, are major necessities of existence. "More is better", takes on a social dimension in which human progress is measured by the degree and kind of buying and selling power one has.

One's social status is thus dependent upon one's buying and selling power. The more I have, the more "significant others" feed my concept of self. The less I have the less "significant others" feed my concept of self.

Any cognitive dissonance which may be generated as a result of inquiry into why some have significantly more than others; whether everyone has an equal chance to have and/or acquire; is dispelled through explanatory constructs which place the answers, for

having or not having, at the doorstep of the individual.[3] The taken-for-granted way of perceiving the world induces the search for an answer to come from descriptive constructs of the events, i.e., the laws of nature. (Mahrer, 1978). Consequently, if as in nature, the individual or thing does not seize the initiative, or if he/she goes against nature, then one's extinction, and/or the natural consequences are sure to follow.

Fromm challenges the premise of this economic reality which suggests that "the pursuit of individual egoism leads to harmony and peace, growth in everyone's welfare, ..." (Fromm, 1976: 6), in this fashion:

> To be an egoist refers not only to my behavior but to my character. It means: that I want everything for myself; that possessing not sharing, gives me pleasure; that I must become greedy because if my aim is having, I <u>am</u> more the more I <u>have</u>; that I must feel antagonistic toward all others; my customers whom I want to deceive, my competitors whom I want to destroy, my workers whom I want to exploit. I can never be satisfied, because there is no end to my wishes; I must be envious of those who have more and afraid of those who have less. But I have to repress all these feelings in order to represent myself (to others as well as to myself) as the smiling, rational, sincere, kind human being everybody pretends to be. (Fromm, 1976: 6)

The argument so far has been that the social relations of economic reality are guided by a having mode of existence. This having is further centered in natural laws of buying and selling, and the acquisition of profit which in turn necessitates the need and desire for power.

Power becomes a critical variable in protecting what one has but more so it also enables one, in overt or covert ways, to rob,

manipulate, conquer, or kill, others in order to enhance or enlarge what one has (Fromm, 1976:6); which is tied to who one is, and one's well-being; which is tied to one's happiness; which in turn comes from one's superiority (in having) over others.

5. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN ECONOMIC ORDER AND SCHOOLING.

To establish the notion of correspondence between activities requires some definitional clarity of the respective activities under discussion.

For purposes of clarity, I shall borrow from Preston (1968), and define the economic order "as consisting of those relationships among men in society that arise out of the production and distribution of goods and services." (Preston, 1968: 3).

As a result of the foregoing definition, one may define the educational order [4] as consisting of those relationships among men/women in society that arise out of the production and distribution (dissemination) of information (knowledge) needed by members of society.

It is necessary to state, at this point, that this author, like Carter (1976), uses as a framework to look at the notion of correspondence, the understanding that "... the production process together with the structural forms and social relations under which it is carried out ultimately determines the other social institutions and practices in society." (Carter, 1976: 53).

The insistence that the economic order dictates practices in the educational order [5] can be further established by examining

the debate by economists and educators over whether education (the process of acquiring skills and knowledge) is a form of consumption or a productive investment. [6]

Thus, an example of correspondence between the economic order and the schooling enterprise would be, to borrow from Karabel and Halsey, "that pay is an incentive in the former and examination grades in the latter, the external character of both sets of rewards reflecting the absence of intrinsic satisfaction involved in work and study respectively." (Karabel & Halsey, 1977: 34).

Further correspondence may be drawn from the norms of the work place being facilitated by the norms of the schooling enterprise (Dreeben, 1968); the personality traits conducive to proper work performance on the job and those which are rewarded with high grades in the classroom. (Bowles, Gintis & Meyer, 1975).

The correspondence may be seen more specifically, to quote Bowles and Gintis, in:

> the relationships of authority and control between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and students, and students and their work replicate the hierarchical division of labor which dominates the work place. Power is organized along vertical lines of authority from administration to faculty to student body; students have a degree of control over their curriculum comparable to that of the worker over the content of his job. The motivational system of the school, involving as it does grades and other external rewards and the threat of failure rather than the intrinsic social benefits of the process of education (learning) or its intangible outcome (knowledge), mirrors closely the role of wages and the specter of unemployment in the motivation of workers. (Bowles & Gintis, 1976:12).

It is being argued that the social relations, among men and women in the American society, that arise out of the production of goods and services, to a large degree determine the social relations among men and women in the American society that arise out of the rpoduction and distribution of knowledge needed by members of the society.

In so far as these relations support the dominant economic order, then there is a correspondence between the economic order and the schooling enterprise. [7]

6. FUNCTIONAL LITERACY AND THE HAVING MODE.

The effort at this stage is to show that the knowledge and skills produced and/or acquired by members of society through the educational order are utilitarian in that they must enable the recipient of them to be able to sell them, i.e., make a profit - "to have."

Put another way, the knowledge produced must be consumed in large quantities so that profits may be made on the investment of production. Persons must be induced to have needs to consume the knowledge produced; the acquisition of which must have some economic value.

Since the economic order dictates societal worth, then any knowledge produced by the educational order which does not facilitate economic growth for the individual may be discarded as worthless. [8]

Literacy the outcome of schooling must be functional then in-so-far as it is conducive to the dictates of the economic order of production, consumption, and profit. [9]

Fromm points to this phenomenon when he states:

> Our education generally tries to train people to have knowledge as a possession, by and large commensurate with the amount of property or social prestige they are likely to have in later life. The minimum they receive is the amount they will need in order to function properly in their work. (Fromm, 1976: 41).

Fromm also identifies the operational source of this functional literacy as the schools, "in which these overall knowledge packages are produced - although schools usually claim they mean to bring the students in touch with the highest achievements of the human mind." (Fromm, 1976:41).

7. THE UPWARD BOUND PROJECT.

Several scholars have posited that an individual comes to know who he/she is through social interaction, i.e., social consciousness. (Bowers, 1974; Berger 1963; Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Natanson, 1962; Rosenberg, 1979).

Since the social relations are to a large degree controlled by the social structures or social orders, [10] (Berger, 1963), then it is reasonable to assume that who I am may be contingent upon the social order and social structures.

In other words, if I come to know who I am as a result of social consciousness, and this social consciousness is shaped, by and large by the norms, values, beliefs, expectations, etc., of

the social order, then the norms, etc., will play a large role in what constitutes my reality or world view. Furthermore, when the norms, beliefs, etc., of the social structures are taken-for-granted, and not examined to facilitate cultural literacy for freedom, (Bowers, 1974); or are made to appear as the only reality, then who I am is merely a reflection of the social order and social definition, rather than an authentic self. [11]

What is being argued so far then is that the "having mode" centered in the economic order distorts social reality in order to emerge as a functional element of social relations. This distortion which is perpetuated by the institutions in society is ideological in that as Berger indicates, "certain idea(s) serves a vested interest in society" (Berger, 1963: 111).

The ideology of the having mode centered in the economic order of the "free enterprise system" thus serves to legitimate the activities and circumstance of individuals in the society, while at the same time hiding the insidious, and deleterious practices which are perpetrated on the majority of individuals. [12]

Berger explains that "the ideology both justifies what is done by the group whose vested interest is served and interprets social reality in such a way that the justification is made plausible." (berger, 1963: 112)

It has also been suggested that the schooling enterprise or

educational order facilitates this ideological perspective, i.e., this taken-for-granted world view, through its norms, values, curricular content, social structure, and in the production and consumption knowledge process.[13] (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Spring, 1980; Nasaw, 1979).

Several reforms have been proposed and/or implemented in order to counteract this ideological control.[14]

Ivan Illich, proposed remaking schools to meet human needs; thus, he emphasized deschooling society. (Illich, 1971). Paulo Freire implemented literacy for critical consciousness programs in the Americas; he emphasized a pedagogy for the oppressed. (Freire, 1972). C.A. Bowers proposed curricular programs that would engender cultural literacy for freedom. (Bowers, 1974).

A project which attempts to counteract the "having mode" perpetuated by the economic order and facilitated by the educational order is presently in operation at the University of West Florida in Pensacola, Florida.

This project, under the rubric of Upward Bound, is a social change effort designed to inculcate values of democratic-socialism and/or humanitarianism.

While federal funding mandates require project emphasis on training and preparing "low-income" youths from area high schools for manpower needs of the economic order via post secondary institutions, curricular and methodological operations permit the pursuit of the social change effort while concurrently satisfying

federal regulatory requisites of helping the participants to continue their education in post secondary institutions.

Since a major premise of the project is that reality is socially constructed; and that who I am may be the result of norms, beliefs, expectations, etc., of the social order;[15] and since the social order may be a reflection of the economic order; then effort must be directed toward affecting the concept of self of individuals defined by the economic order, especially those from the labor class defined as poor, disadvantaged, low-income, etc., in order to affect social change.

The project's curriculum is thus built around affecting self-concept and creating new values to counteract those of the acquisitive society or in other words the "having mode." The new values centered in a "being mode of existence" include: being a subject rather than an object; treasuring responsibility over authority; learning that is guided by creative powers rather than by external deposit informational methods- the "banking concept" of Freire; being autonomous rather than simply conforming ; valuing cooperation over compettion; and community over alienation from rampant individualism.

The learning experiences to achieve the social change goals include: dialogue, readings, observation and analysis through questioning techniques, simulations, and personal reflection.

The results so far indicate that participants are evincing stronger humanistic attitudes the longer they remain in the pro-

ject.

A closer examination of the project reveals some of the following distinctions between the conventional educational order and this operation:

1. There is no grading of participants' academic work. Consequently, there is no fear of failure, or threat of punishment built into the project's operation.
2. Authority is decentralized, in that decisions affecting project function are made collaboratively, with the representative group of the participants holding policy power.
3. All participants are kept informed of all decisions; thus, avoiding their being manipulated through a lack of proper and pertinent information - a salient mode of operation in oppression or "repressive tolerance." (Marcuse, et al., 1969; Schiller, 1973).
4. There is a pooling of financial resources in order to provide assistance to any participant when necessary. For example, participants in colleges who are in needs of financial aid may borrow from the pooled resources. Repayment is not predicated upon profit motives.
5. Hierarchical arrangements are shunned. Parents of the participants, staff, and participants, all communicate on an equal basis, and thus avoid adherence to false author-

ity perpetuated through status-symbols of titles, etc..

6. Participants tutor/teach each other thus avoiding the perpetuation of a consciousness which fosters the taken-for-granted view that "knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who think themselves knowledgeable, upon those whom they consider to know nothing." (Freire, 1970).

7. Definitions which participants played no part in constructing are shunned. As Stokely Carmichael cogently stated, "he who sets the definition is in power." Consequently, titles such as "disadvantaged," "culturally-deprived," "minority," "economically-disadvantaged," are striken from the lexicon of the project.

8. The participants, youths, are not treated as children, but as the mature adults they are; thus avoiding the psychological dilemma of adolescents in the U.S. society of being trapped between childhood and adulthood and being expected to conform to both groups simultaneously. (Rogers, 1972: 158)

9. Counseling and guidance is not done through "standard operating procedures," i.e., "defining people negatively by defining their impossibilities for them under the guise of disclosing their genuine possibilities." (Vandenberg, 1971)

Since to define people negatively is to oppress them, participants are free to choose their interests, instead of being subtly manipulated into finding their place in the market hierarchical division of labor.

10. The interests of the participants are placed before the interests of those in authority.

8. IMPLICATIONS FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN.

The final part of this paper is directed toward bringing to bear the effects of the "having mode" for developing systems in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The violent conflicts in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatamala; the political upheaval in Jamaica, Grenada, and St. Lucia; all highlight the drama in which developing countries are "cracking their cosmic eggs," i.e., they are emerging from traditional forms of domination only to be faced with the question of how to restructure their societal institutions.

Political and economic persuasion is heavy from the developed countries, and in particular, the U.S.A., to restructure their societal systems in such a manner that their societies favor the free enterprise system.

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Martin Carnoy captures the essence of and assumptions underlying this persuasive thrust by the U.S.A., and other free enterprise countries, in these words: "Capitalism is a civilizing

force coming from countries (in the United States and Europe) which reject domination as a means of settling disputes and distributing economic and political power." (Carnoy, 1976:254)

However, the implications of this paper's arguments are salient in this tension to restructure economic and political systems.

It has been suggested that the economic order of the free enterprise system fosters a "having mode" of social relations which are conducive to production, consumption, and profit. Furthermore, it has been argued, that there is a correspondence between the "having mode" of the economic order, and the social relations and structures of the educational order. In other words, the social relations and structures of the educational order are supportive of the dominant economic order.

Consequently, as some scholars argue quite cogently, schools operating from the "having mode" socialize members of the society for their roles in a labor market.

But, the major concern expressed in this paper is that while producing economic plenty, the "having mode" of societal operation produces significantly little on the human side of the equation (I am equals what I have), in "self" growth.

To acquiesce in the "having mode" developing countries in Latin America and the Caribbean should be cognizant of the fact that they may be adopting a new form of domination - <u>dependency</u>:

> Dependence is a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and be self-sustaining, while other countries (the dependent ones) can only expand as a reflection of dominant country expansion, which can, in turn, be a positive and/or negative effect on their immediate development. In any case, the basic situation of dependence leads to an overall situation for the dependent countries which places them behind and under the exploitation of the dominant countries. (Dos Santos, 1970:38)

This new form of domination may preclude the development of a new national culture. Since the function of the educational system under capitalism is to quote Carnoy, "...supposed to enable the graduate to contribute to the economy, polity, and society" (1976:256), then adaptation of this model by Latin American and Caribbean nations may simply change the role of the developing country from traditional domination to a new role which while being more economically rewarding, may leave "the individual in a conditional situation, one which is dominated by culture, technology, and goods of the dominant developed countries." (Carnoy, 1976:256).

Such arrangements it has been argued stifle human potential growth for the masses. For a condition of the human potential growth is an educational experience which is according to Carnoy, "intimately related to a process of change..." (Carnoy, 1976: 257).

Educational efforts which are centered in creating new values, (antithetical to those of the acquisitive society) should be given serious consideration by those Latin American and Caribbean countries struggling to reshape their systems.

Key elements in educational systems for human dignity; systems which avoid pedagogies of oppression, are:

1. Definitional and conceptual constructs must be constructed by the masses not imposed by external agents and social structures.
2. The masses must have full participation in any process of change.
3. The masses must be critically awakened to ideological distortions of social reality.
4. There must be decentralized power and authority.

Latin America and Caribbean nations are thus faced with a choice, aptly described by Martin Carnoy:

> If we believe that world capitalism makes everyone prosper and that all countries, if they are wise and want their people to be happy, should continue to help that venture by supporting its theories and beliefs. If, however, we believe that world capitalism has created structures that prevent the masses of people in the world from achieving the fulfillment of their needs and aspirations, then we must contribute to radical changes in those structures. (Carnoy, 1976:258)

The question is do we want education as literacy for freedom?

FOOTNOTES

1. The "being mode of existence" is tied to the existential notion that to exist as a human is to choose, and to choose in a state of awareness is existential freedom. Authentic living, a prerequisite to existential freedom, may be inhibited by social arrangements which preclude my choosing in a state of awareness; or by social arrangements which are perpetuated by what Jean-Paul Satre called "bad faith," and which dehumanize or deface "self." For more on this point see: Peter Berger, INVITATTION TO SOCIOLOGY: A HUMANISTIC PERSPECTIVE. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1963, pp. 142 - 150.
2. Alvin Toffler, writing in THE THIRD WAVE, calls this industreality; supported by a second wave civilization theory of causality which made possible achievements in science and technology, on the one hand, but derogated or ignored what it could not quantify. See Toffler, THE THIRD WAVE. New York: Bantam Books, 1981. Chapter 9, pp. 98-115.
3. For more on this issue see: Richard Hofstadter's, SOCIAL DARWINISM IN AMERICAN THOUGHT. Boston: Beacon Press, 1955.
4. The term order as Preston indicates "suggests a structure of relationships centered on some common activity." Nathaniel Stone Preston, POLITICS, ECONOMICS, AND POWER. New York: McMillian Co., 1968.

5. This point is brought out forecefully in Raymond Callahan's historical work, EDUCATION AND THE CULT OF EFFICIENCY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
6. For more on this debate see: Jerome Karabel and A.H. Halsey, POWER AND IDEOLOGY IN EDUCATION. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977, section 111; also, Charles Benson, THE SCHOOL AND THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1966, Chapter Six.
7. Bowles and Gintis argue that these social relationships in the economic order are justified by a technocratic-meritocratic ideology, and are based on hierarchical division of labor; bureaucratic authority of the corporate enterprise; and stratification by race, sex, education, and social class. They contend that the social relationships in the educational order can be understood in terms of the needs of the economic order to preserve corresponding relationships. See: Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis. SCHOOLING IN CAPITALIST AMERICA: EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND THE CONTRADICTIONS OF ECONOMIC LIFE. New York: Basic Books, 1976. Chapter 3, and especially Chapter 5.
8. Some educators have even proposed a funding formulae for education which would require consumers to pay more for subject areas in business, and less for areas in the humanities.

9. The implications of this situation are far reaching. For example, knowledge seen as property could lead to hoarding and protecting that knowledge. The incidents of students in medical schools keeping books so that their colleagues could not get the information in the books and so pass their examinations, is indicative of this educational tie to production, consumption, and profit values.

   Another application is the production of information (knowledge) by the business sector (information which enhance the image of the free enterprise system without any question) and which is fed into the educational sector. For more on this see: Sheila Harty's, HUCKSTERS IN THE CLASSROOM: A REVIEW OF INDUSTRY PROPOGANDA IN SCHOOLS. Washington, D.C. : Center for the Study of Responsive Law, 1979, especially Chapter Five.

10. According to Nathaniel Stone Preston, "since the beginning of recorded history, and undoubtedly before, man has employed organization to meet two principal problems: his relation to his environment and the relations among individuals." He contends that "each such act of organizing orders the relationships among individuals ...." Preston, POLITICS, ECONOMICS, AND POWER: IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE UNDER CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM, AND FASCISM. New York: The McMillan Co., 1968, p. 2.

11. According to Jean-Paul Satre, to be an authentic self requires one to face the "agony of choice." That is, while social institutions and social structures channel human conduct along the lines that instincts channel the behavior of animals, man has the capacity to avoid acting in "bad faith" which is to pretend something (my action) is necessary when in fact it is voluntary (my being able to choose my actions).
12. Some of these practices include polluting the atmosphere for industrial profits, maintaining inhumane conditions for some segments of the population while others squander wealth, technological irresponsibility, political manipulation and possibly nuclear destruction in pursuit of peace, and instigating class, race, and sex conflicts in order to dissipate labor power.
13. For more on this point see: Joel Spring, EDUCATING THE WORKER-CITIZEN: THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION. New York: Longman Inc., 1980, especially Chapter 9.
14. For some practical methods used as social change educational efforts to counteract the ideological control of the schooling enterprise, and economic order, see: Miriam Wolf-Wasserman and Linda Hutchinson, TEACHING HUMAN DIGNITY: SOCIAL CHANGE LESSONS FOR EVERYTEACHER. Minneapolis, Minnesota: Education Exploration Center, 1978.

15. For more on this point see the seminal work by Morris Rosenberg, CONCEIVING THE SELF. New York: Basic Books, 1979.

16. The Reagan Administration's Caribbean Basin economic policy of 1982 is indicative of the political persuasion from the industrialized west.

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